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that another man was called Kupa because his father had killed a man of that name (7).

Tapu Names and Nicknames

Any property might be made *tapu* to its claimant by being given a sacred name that belonged to him. This applied to land, hogs, canoes, and so on. It is said that a child would sometimes be named at birth after a fish, and that thereafter that fish could not be eaten by any member of his tribe. This *tapu* is evidently based on the fact that the things which bore the person's name belonged to that person.

Although a man was always known to members of his family by some one of the genealogical names that had been given him, yet most men were known to the other members of the tribe by some nickname. This might be the name of some enemy, whom he had killed, or it might be a name that had been given to him by outsiders at the time of his birth—a nickname, referring to some incident associated with his birth, to some peculiarity of his parents, and so on. Or it might be the nickname that was given when he was tattooed. At that time a new name called *patiki*, referring to some personal peculiarity, was given to the *opou* (the first-born lad, for whom the work of tattooing had been organized by his father) by all the *ka'ioi* (youths) who were participating in the operation with him. Only *opou* had such names; *ka'ioi* had no *patiki*. The family of a lad who had such a nickname never used this name, but everyone else in the tribe did. It is suggested, with regard to this, that the giving of a new name to the *opou* may be a survival of a custom similar to that in Australia, where the youth was given a new name at the time of puberty rites.

Exchanging Names

The institution called *o inoa* consisted of a formal union between two individuals of the same sex, which was accomplished by an exchange of names, the two thus becoming namesakes. The discussion of the intimate connection or identity of the personality and the name indicates how complete a bond this made for the native.

With the name went all the rights of each individual. A man who was one's namesake had a right to all one's property—even to one's wife—, and to all such rights as one might have through inheritance or position. In war time captives from an enemy tribe had their lives saved sometimes by being made namesake of the chief of the victorious tribe. The *e inoa* convention was respected not only by the two individuals but by the other members of their respective tribes. In other words if a man had a namesake who belonged to an enemy tribe that would kill any other member

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of his tribe entering their valley, he himself could enter this valley with just as much safety as the namesake who belonged there. It was, therefore, very profitable to have as many namesakes as possible in different valleys. Legends furnish evidence of the way in which adventurers and travellers made *e inoa* in the valleys in which they stopped. Those who were namesakes of chiefs were specially protected. There is an historic instance on Hiva Oa of a chief's making war to revenge the death of his namesake.

The following circumstances described by Melville (23, pp. 162-3) are evidently a result of this *e inoa* convention.

> Though the country is possessed by various tribes, whose mutual hostilities almost wholly preclude any intercourse between them, yet there are instances where a person having ratified friendly relations with some individual belonging to the valley, whose inmates are at war with his own, may, under particular restrictions, venture with impunity into the country of his friend, where, under other circumstances, he would have been treated as an enemy. In this light are personal friendships regarded among them, and the individual so protected is said to be "taboo," and his person, to a certain extent, is held sacred. Thus the stranger informed me he had access to all the valleys in the island.

The exchanging of names by powerful chiefs was accompanied with some formality although with nothing approaching that connected with adoption or marriage, for *e inoa* was regarded as a purely private and personal relationship, whereas adoption and marriage united whole families and tribes. When the chief wanted to exchange names with someone, all his relatives prepared large quantities of food and marched together, carrying it to the house of the one who was to be made his namesake, chanting on the way. As they approached the house, those on the platform called out, "*A mai, a mai, a mai* (Come!)." The food that had been brought was then spread out and both families feasted together. The man who was to be the chief's namesake then stood up and recited his genealogy (or some woman gave the recitation), and ended by giving the chief one of his names. The recipient repeated the same formality. Thereafter they were called by each other's names. Père Jean (16) speaks of an instance in which a chief offered human sacrifice in making a namesake. When the exchange was made with the formality of a feast and the recitation of the genealogy, the relationship was regarded as sacred for all time.

Commonly, however, the exchange was made more simply, and the bond was easily terminated. It was usually accompanied merely by some simple present, such as cloth or an ornament. Or it might even be made without any gift other than the name itself. Formal exchange was made only between persons of the same class. In other words a poor man could not exchange names with a man of wealth and thus gain the right to

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all his property. When a man of equal wealth or power proposed to become namesake of another, it was regarded as an insult if the recipient of the proposal did not accept it. Refusal was very rare.

VARIOUS RITES OF CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH

Piercing the Ears

When boys and girls were between the ages of six and ten years, their ears were pierced. Mr. Linton was told that the piercing of the ears of boys was done at the same time as the cutting of the foreskin. According to one informant, the rite was performed on many girls at a time in a sacred part of the dance area (probably at the same time that the rite was performed on the daughter of the tribal chief). It was necessary that the operation be performed on sacred ground because of the sacredness of blood. Another informant said that it was only when the ears of a chief's son or daughter were pierced that it was done on the tribal feast place. Other children were merely taken, without public ceremony, to some sacred place where the ears were pierced, after which there was a feast at the dwelling. According to Garcia (14, p. 66) human sacrifice was necessary at the time of the piercing of the ears of a powerful chief's child, whether boy or girl. Following the public piercing of the ears of a chief's child came the *ko'ina oka puaina* (ear piercing feast) consisting of a feast, the singing of a kind of song called *uta* (see Chants), and the dancing of the *haka pahaka* (see Dancing).

The operation was performed by a *tuhuna* skilled in the practice. He used a carved piercer made of the bone of some ancestor, or of tortoise-shell (see Ear Ornaments). On Ua Pou, the hands of the *tuhuna* who performed this operation were *tapu* for five or six days after the operation, during which time he lived at the expense of his employer.

Purifying the Hands

To consecrate the hands, so that an individual could make *popoi* for himself or herself, or others, the *ko'ina ha'ame'ie i'ima* (*ha'a*, to make; *me'ie*, clear; *ima*, hand) was performed for every child, male or female, when about ten years of age. Three or four pigs were fattened for the feast on this occasion. All the relatives of the family assembled at the father's house. The *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts) all lay down, and the board on which *popoi* was pounded was placed on their bodies. Some *popoi* was then beaten up on the board, the child holding the pounder, the father aiding, holding the child's hand and guiding it. All the child's near relatives, and the *kui pakeke* (the father's female cousins, or the child's second cousins) had to partake of this *popoi*. The

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new one boasted finer carving. Sacred objects, if carried away, had the power to return to the tribe. Objects might be clad but they were never fed; the nearest approach to this being the attitude toward the war canoes. When such a craft was initiated, it was launched over the body of a victim, a rite which was supposed in some way to make the canoe stronger.

The practice of naming was carried to still further lengths. An important person, a chief or an inspirational priest, had distinct names for the different parts of his body, ten or twelve different members being named, the most honorable names being attached to the genitals. This practice held for both sexes.

Name exchange between friends was common. In such exchanges the personality of each participant was fused with that of the other. When together, each addressed the other by his own name. When a native killed a man, he had the right to use the dead man's name, which he frequently did, especially if the victim was more important than the killer. The weapon with which a man was killed might also be given the name of the victim.

Master craftsmen were sought in name-exchange relationship by people from other tribes, and consequently had considerable freedom of movement. A *tuhunga* frequently had several *enoas*, or blood brothers, often in other tribes. When one was *enoa* with a man, one had equal rights to his property and stood in the same relation to his relatives as he did.

Social Organization

The basic social units were the tribe and the household. There was no clan organization within the tribe, which was in theory an extended relationship group, all of whose members traced connection with an original ancestor, either through actual descent or by adoption. Family lines and ties, aside from those between child and mother's brothers or father's sisters, were rather loose. Mother's brothers and father's sisters were the individuals to whom the child looked for sponsorship in all ceremonies, his relationship to them being closer than that with